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EDITED BY

Paul Crane SJ

VOLUME 7.

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Form and Substance

THE EDITOR

I AM getting a little tired of ton-up parsons, swinging nuns and guitar-playing priests. It is not that I personally consider them grotesque or out of place. That may or may not be the case. What irritates me when I read of their exploits is the thought that, once again, they may have fallen for an error as old as man himself; that of mistaking form for substance. This points to an outlook on life almost desperately superficial. So, too, is the remedy they appear to be offering a troubled, teenage generation.

What I mean is this. Religion today is losing its hold on the young primarily because, in their eyes, it does not at present add up to anything of great significance. It is not related to the business of living. For most, it signifies little more than a rather dull list of formal observances which men are bound to take up. For most of the young today, its connection with personal fulfilment—wholeness as a person—is not even dimly apparent. It is not seen in terms of life. The test of this somewhat depressing opinion of mine would be to take a class of school-leavers and ask them singly (never together) whether they thought of religion as contributing essentially to their integration

as persons; whether they saw it as enriching their lives; as making more wondrous still that precious field of personal relationships, which is everything in the world to a young boy or girl and always has been. The question would have to be skilfully put by someone who knew what he (or she) was about. It would be essential to secure a frank answer. Were this forthcoming, I venture to say that, in just about every case, it would be negative. This is the hard truth of the matter. Religion, for Catholic teenagers today, is largely irrelevant. I would go further and say that, in many cases, it is seen as something that deprives them of life. The challenge of the Church—in the persons, especially, of those who teach—is to show the opposite; that life is impossible—not worth living—without it. This, today's young do not really believe. We have to show them how wrong they are.

This last is not so difficult as it seems. Being young, teenagers of today are, quite rightly, hungry for life. What they should receive at this stage in their lives is the knowledge that in Christ they will get it even more abundantly. What they get too often, in fact, is a swinging nun or folksy priest; one more act instead of the words of life. This is what I mean by the substitution of form for substance; the proclivity that is in us all to dodge the heart of the problem and content ourselves instead with scratching round at the periphery—like those who think that priests will do better if they go round in collars and ties. Why, in God's name, can these people not see that what matters about a priest is that he reveal Christ to his people. If he is not doing that already, lay dress will not help him to do it. If he is doing it, lay dress will be unnecessary. Formal change accomplishes nothing if the substance of what is needed is not already there. Once this is present, the accidentals can look after themselves.

So, swing Sister, if you like, provided you know the meaning of Christ in your life and what it means to give Him to others. But, if you are without this knowledge then, for Heaven's sake, stop swinging; and the same goes for you, Father, with your guitar.

The central theme of the World Conference on Church and Society was world economic justice. The tension between East and West was felt to be ending whereas that between the developed and developing nations had begun. There was massive lay participation at the Conference, and this made available great technical knowledge and a vast experience of public affairs. R. H. Tawney's judgment was remembered: "The Church ceased to count because the Church ceased to think."

Report from Geneva

EDWARD DUFF, S.J.

THE World Conference on Church and Society, sponsored by the World Council of Churches at its Geneva headquarters (July 12-26), was in many ways remarkable and indeed unique. It was a success. For the first time since the Oxford Conference of 1937 on "Church, Community and State" more than 400 participants from 70 countries gave extended and exclusive consideration to the present complications of man's earthly existence under the general theme of "Christians in the Technical and Social Revolutions of our Times". The shift in emphasis between the two ecumenical conferences is itself indicative of the social revolution. Oxford was western in its orientation, and dominated by the menace of the Hitlerian "Thousand-year Reich". At Geneva a full half of the membership came from the developing countries. (A good number had never before attended an international meeting, some in fact had never been out of their countries.) The central issue was world economic justice, and the dominant concern how to arrest the growth of squalor and sickness and ignorance in a world made a single neighbourhood by technology where rich nations, mostly Christian, are becoming richer

and poor nations, frequently former colonies of Christendom, are becoming poorer.

Massive Lay Participation

The Geneva Conference was notable among church gatherings not least by the massive presence of the laity who constituted a two-thirds majority over the ecclesiastics and also by the participation, one might even say predominance, of recognised experts from the secular disciplines. A rapid inspection of the roster reveals the names of a research chemist from Cameroon, professors of economics from Greece, Switzerland, Nigeria, Uruguay, England, India, Bolivia, the Netherlands, Brazil and the United States, businessmen from Syria, Korea, South Africa, and the Philippines, an Ambassador from the Ivory Coast, agronomists from Australia and El Salvador, a trade union leader from New Guinea, the Chief Justice of the German Supreme Court, a Mexican psychologist, members of the national parliaments of Sweden, Indonesia, Gabon, India, Korea, the United Kingdom, Basutoland, Norway, the Netherlands and the United States, government tax officials (latter day St. Matthews) from Algeria and Tchad, educators from the Orange Free State of S. Africa and the Dominican Republic and Sierra Leone, a Greek ship-owner, sociologists from Colombia, Japan, Ghana, East and West Germany, politicians from Kenya and Puerto Rico, lawyers from Guatemala, the Argentine and Lebanon, a superintendent of prisons from Ceylon, a bank manager from New Haven and a biophysicist from Pittsburgh, engineers from Taiwan and Belgium, university presidents, architects, social workers, and journalists—not to forget Mrs. Monica J. Sozigwa of Tanzania who described herself simply as "housewife".

The Listening Churches

An impressive amount of technical knowledge, a vast experience in public affairs was thus available to the Conference on Church and Society and through the Conference to the 223 member churches of the World Council for their

own guidance and as background material for the Fourth Assembly of the WCC at Uppsala, Sweden in 1968. For the Geneva Conference was not convened so that the Church could speak to the world but precisely in order that the world could inform the churches, explaining the present plight of mankind and suggesting some institutional remedies. Thus briefed, the churches would be better placed to remind their membership of the solemn obligation to succour the suffering everywhere by supporting structural changes in national economies and political regimes, by devising strategies of effective and long range aid and by appealing to all mankind to a new sense of human solidarity by reason of its common creation and common destiny. It is now widely believed that for the first time in history the benefits of civilisation and a tolerable standard of living can be made available to the whole human race through the application of man's inventive powers. How to stimulate throughout the world the will to such a prodigious goal was a more than passing challenge to the World Council's Conference on Church and Society.

Different Stance of Vatican II

Thus the first difference between the work of the Geneva Conference and the Vatican Council's Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World emerged. Though very many statements of the two assemblies were remarkably parallel, their stance was different. The Council declaration was the Church of Rome teaching, offering its modest word of analysis and counsel. The Conference posture was one of listening, of learning as against later more solemn utterance. It should be promptly noted, moreover, that the Vatican Council's discussions spread over four years and, despite the collaboration of many experts with the understaffed world council office in the Planning Committee since 1962, the reports represent in fact two weeks of intense work just concluded. Documents of the World Council, it must further be recalled, "have only the authority of their inherent wisdom" to quote Archbishop Temple, one of the World Council's founders. The motion

for adoption in each instance was: "That this report be received for inclusion in the general conference report; and that its conclusions be adopted by the Conference and transmitted to the World Council of Churches and its member-churches for their study, consideration and appropriate action". Nevertheless, there is the common conviction, assumed in many reports and articulated in very many speeches, that religion is inevitably related to the world's work, shape and direction, that Christianity has to do with *this* life also, that ignorance, or worse, apathy in the face of widespread squalor is treason to the gospel message of brotherhood. To be sure, religious truths and gospel insights do not supply ready answers to complicated technical questions nor necessarily assign a single means to an agreed goal. As the final message to the Conference asserted: "Our Christian faith provides us with a common foundation, basic attitudes and common objectives for our service to society; it does not produce an easy consensus on specific social issues". And yet, the Message continued, "we are committed to working for the transformation of society".

Those who Cease to Think Cease to Count

The tradition of pietism, of religion as a world-escaping mechanism was not present at the Geneva Conference, although on occasion an Orthodox spokesman would deplore the activist emphasis, reminding all of the eschatological dimension of the Christian faith, a valuable service but a gesture, one suspects, designed also to cover an unfamiliarity with technical issues. There was at the Conference an awareness that too often and too widely have the churches been identified with the status quo, the defenders of a narrow nationalism or entrenched privilege, as expressed not least in racial superiority. Many, especially Americans, were mindful of William Stringfellow's biting phrase: "Christianity is concerned with religion not with life". Speaking in place of Dr. Martin Luther King, detained by the race riots in Chicago, the Rev. Dr. Benjamin F. Payton, executive director of the Commission on Religion and Race

of the American National Council of Churches described the civil rights struggle as "but one part of the quest for freedom that has developed throughout the world, in the South, in Latin America and Asia". In addition to involvement at the Conference on Church and Society there was a public admission of the need of greater communication between theologians and natural and social scientists in an effort to establish first, a mutually understandable vocabulary and secondly, to acquaint theology with its urgent contemporary issues of interpretation. "Theology, as a part of its basic task of expressing faithfully in our time the meaning of God's revelation, continues to re-examine its own formulations in the light of dialogue with other disciplines of thought and in the light of new social experience which Christians share with all men," one Section Report asserted. At Geneva the judgment of R. H. Tawney is not unknown. Speaking of the transition from feudalism to primitive capitalism he wrote, "The Church ceased to count because the Church ceased to think".

Impressive

The logic of the programme of the Council, the efficiency of its operation, the freedom of debate under strict control of parliamentary procedure strongly impressed the former Director-General of UNESCO, Dr. Vittorino Veronese, one of the Roman Catholic observers, who noted admiringly the Anglo-Saxon inheritance of the World Council. Such a generalisation should not be allowed to obscure credit for the trojan effort over the years of the indefatigable Rev. Paul Abrecht, the most unpublicised leader of the Ecumenical Movement, who as Organising Secretary had the principal responsibility for the Conference and deserves the chief applause for its success. In two weeks of active, sometimes aggressive discussion, continuing until ten o'clock each evening a vast quantity of words were loosed, some wise, even profound, some novel, some polemical, some simply silly. Eventually, the flood of talk had to be summarised and synthesised and put on paper. The result

was the Section Reports, substantial and comprehensive documents of ten to twenty thousand words whose final literary form is in the hands of an editorial committee.

Savage Challenge

The Conference on Church and Society was a "terrific pedagogical experience" for the participants, observed Dr. W. A. Visser 't Hooft, the World Council's General Secretary in a final interview. He referred undoubtedly to the shock experienced by the Westerners at the sharp and sometimes savage challenge to their ideologies, structures and practices by spokesmen from the developing countries. For, on the evidence of the Geneva Conference, the period of the East-West tension is over. The conflict now involves the have-not peoples of the South of the globe stridently asserting their claims against the prosperous and indifferent Lazaruses of the Northern hemisphere. The humility and patience, sometimes bordering on masochism, of the Westerners, especially the Americans, under such attacks was admirable.

Nationalism is a heady wine flowing freely in the developing countries. It is deemed the essential means of self-discovery, self-identification, self-assertion. With it goes a determination to overturn, by violence if necessary, the prevailing economic and political structures, considered suffocating remnants of a colonial past. Especially the Latin Americans voiced this position shrilly. "The established order is an affront to God and man," declared Dr. Gonzalo Castillo-Cardenas, executive secretary of the Commission on Presbyterian Co-operation in Latin America, at a plenary meeting. The speaker saw a new function for ecumenism, noting that the real scandal is not that "lack of unity makes it impossible for all Christians to take part in the same religious rites but that Christians participate on both sides of unjust international relations which perpetuate underdevelopment". Dr. Emilio Castro, head of the Council for Evangelical Unity in Latin America, declared: "In some situations it may be that the Church feels obligated to use direct action, such as mobilising the

masses, even direct political pressures, so that certain necessary changes become a reality". Significantly, no mention was made of Chile's President, Eduardo Frei, advocate of profound social change, but rather Camilo Torres, killed in an ambush recently with a guerilla band, was repeatedly praised. Such language reminded Professor Roger Mehl of Strasbourg of the upheavals of the European revolutions of 1848, directed by the intellectuals and workers against the propertied classes in several countries. And theology is expected to engender and sustain local ideologies useful to effect such social transformations. In the judgment of Dr. Richard Schaull of Princeton Theological Seminary the Church should "provide the context in which people are set free for and encouraged to accept this revolutionary commitment and are helped to work out a theological perspective on and an ethic for revolution".

The Generations Gap

But perhaps deeper than the tensions between North and South of the globe, developed versus developing nations, is the "generations gap" as revealed during the Conference. A fact of tremendous importance as half the population of the world today is made up of young people. Gerald A. McWorther, a student from Chicago, told a press conference that he found it impossible to identify himself with his fellow Americans, all of whom belonged, he judged to "the establishment" but that he felt at home with his contemporaries of whatever nationality or language.

Protestant-Catholic Dialogue and Co-operation

Dialogue and co-operation with others, especially with the Roman Catholic Church, was repeatedly called for in the Conference. The invitation was accepted and reciprocated in a principal address by Canon Charles Moeller, under-secretary of the Holy See's Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith and one of the eight Catholic Observers at the Conference. Canon Moeller, after alluding to the highly successful joint discussions on social questions between

experts from the World Council and the Vatican Secretariat, went further, arguing: "Collaboration between the secular community of men of good will and the churches should be based on a certain number of key principles which everyone can accept without being obliged to commit himself definitely for or against God." Speaking to the topic "Recent Trends in Roman Catholic Social Thought", Monsignor Moeller appealed to the words of Pope Paul in his final address to the Vatican Council: "The Church of the Council is not content with reflecting on its own nature and on the contacts which unite it to God. It is equally occupied with man, with man as he is present in the reality of our time".

Following Monsignor Moeller's presentation, the programme provided for comments. Professor John C. Bennett noted the tremendous change in climate of Protestant-Catholic relations in the U.S., a change he attributed to Pope John and the Vatican Council but a change he personally, and his publication *Christianity and Crisis*, have played no small part in. There was much expectation in the hall when Metropolitan Nikodim, head of the Foreign Office of the Moscow Patriarchate rose to offer his comments. They turned out to be an abridged form of a 15-page statement, a careful drawn up position paper, distributed to all. Earlier Archpriest Vitaly Borovoy, representative of the Moscow Patriarch to the World Council, had recounted the opposition of the Russian Orthodox Church to the Bolshevik revolution: "It was a bitter and open struggle. As a result, the church lost millions of believers". Nevertheless, "the overwhelming majority of the mass of believers, who remain true to Christianity and the Church . . . became a constructive element in the building of the new society on the new revolutionary bases, and thus an example to the clergy and the hierarchy to unite their life and fate with the life of the people and to come to terms with what had happened." To general applause from the audience the Archpriest added: "Our Western Christian brethren may and should draw from this a lesson for themselves".

Goods for the Use of all Mankind

Metropolitan Nikodim, after praising the social encyclicals of Pope John XXIII, examined the judgment of Pope Paul in his encyclical "Ecclesiam Suam" on the difficulty of a dialogue with atheists and found it too pessimistic. To be sure, conversations looking to conversion, much less discussions challenging ideologies, are futile, he asserted, but efforts to build peace and improve man's human lot "cannot fail to meet with a live, sympathetic response on the part of every man of good will". His Eminence was confident that in the presence of such a spirit of dialogue "human hearts will open, sincere sympathies will emerge; there will appear the readiness to listen to, to understand and deeply to respect each other; the way will open to the practical identification of the life-giving strength of Christianity".

In the Metropolitan Nikodim's paper there followed an interesting analysis of the Vatican Council's emphasis on the social character of property—the insistence dating from St. Thomas Aquinas in the 13th century that goods of the earth are primordially for the use of all mankind as indicating a Catholic leaning towards a regime of public ownership, a quasi-approval of socialism of the Soviet variety. In any case, making allowances for denominational differences and varying historical experiences, "one can reasonably expect to achieve in the future far reaching mutual understanding and agreement with regard to the solution in principle of all these social and international problems in a single all-Christian spirit," his Eminence concluded.

Mass Starvation

Yet after all the talk and editing Reports the gigantic problems of inequality among God's children remain. Indeed, instead of mere stagnation in the economic situation, there seems to be regression. Charles Weitz, an Observer of the UN's Food and Agricultural Organisation confronted the section with the spectre of mass starvation with food production falling behind population increase. (On population control the stand of the Conference, not least by

reason of the influence of the Orthodox, paralleled that of the Vatican Council in calling for "responsible parenthood".) The Development Decade "is approaching a real failure" with the developing countries losing more money through falling prices of their raw materials than they gain through foreign aid.

"We have to develop a moral concept, a moral imperative that will result in responsible policies by both the developed and the developing nations. Few recognise how short a time we have," asserted Dr. Prebisch. The Conference was thrilled by Barbara Ward's call for a church lobby for the world's poor, a project outlined in paragraph 90 of the Vatican Council's Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World and advocated also by the Council of the Federation of Protestant Churches of Switzerland on the proposal of Pastor André Biéler, a professor of Economics at the University of Geneva, by the British Council of Churches and in a new campaign to be launched by the U.S. National Council of Churches under the direction of Dr. Robert S. Bilheimer. In its conclusion the International Conference on Church and Society called for the assignment of 2 per cent of the gross national product of the developed countries to be made available to the developing countries.

Concluding Prayer

The spirit and goals of the Geneva Conference were admirably expressed in the concluding service of worship in a prayer recited by the Rev. Adeolu Adegbola of Nigeria: "O God our Father, we pray for thy Church, which is set today amid the perplexities of a changing world, and face to face with new tasks. Baptize her afresh in the life-giving spirit of Jesus. Bestow upon her a greater responsiveness to duty, a swifter compassion with the suffering, and an utter loyalty to the will of God. Put upon her lips the Gospel of her Lord. Help her boldly to proclaim the coming of the Kingdom of God. Fill her with the prophet's scorn of tyranny, and with a Christlike tenderness for the heavy-laden and down-trodden."

CURRENT COMMENT

It is man's nature to strive hardest when he works for his wife and children. Therefore it is the business of government to encourage him in his efforts, supplementing them when they fail, but never supplanting them. Stifling individual initiative ends in us being padded by welfare at one end, and taxed stiff at the other.

Reflections on the Economy

THE EDITOR

In the spring of 1947, on the heels of a miserable winter which none of my generation will ever forget, I went to the United States to lecture for the British Information Services. I was not too happy with the assignment. The general outlook and policy of the Attlee Government were beginning to disturb me. I was not prepared to defend either in public. I informed my sponsors beforehand that I could only go to the States if left free to give my own version of my country's condition. Very generously they agreed.

Incident at Los Angeles

In the course of the intensive lecture tour that followed, I found myself booked to address the English-speaking Union in Los Angeles. It was the time of the Communist attempt to take over Greece. Under their King, the people of that country were fighting back magnificently. Greece had suffered under Nazi occupation during most of the war. The defeat of Hitler had brought her people no more than the briefest of respites. Then the Communist onslaught was on them, bringing devastation and famine. I was deeply moved by the plight of the Greek people in their agony. I knew, moreover, what was at stake in the struggle. In

my Los Angeles speech, therefore, I took the line with my audience that the good people of the United States, who had been so generously sending food parcels to Britain, should send them instead to the Greeks. Their need, I said, was greater than ours. We had been hard hit by six years of war, but we could get by. In Greece, however, the people were close to famine. They should be helped before ourselves. We had managed when we stood alone in 1940. We would manage again now.

That was the line I took in my Los Angeles speech more than nineteen years ago. I spoke from my heart with great pride in my country, as I thought any Englishman would have spoken under similar circumstances. I saw my countrymen battered by six years of war, with their economy shattered and their overseas investments gone; but I was confident that with courage and energy and pride they would rebuild their country's fortunes. All any government had to do was to let them do it. It was a matter of releasing the energy that was still there after the weary years of war, lifting the restrictions as soon as possible and encouraging men to work to make a good future for their families. The condition of recovery was that each should be left free to do this to the greatest extent possible. At the end of this process, Britain would stand on her own feet, rebuilt by her own efforts, able to contribute much with pride to a world that not merely needed, but wanted her. Rarely has Britain been held so high as in the immediate post-war years. As I spoke at Los Angeles—to say nothing of other occasions during my tour—I was conscious all round me of a great warmth of feeling towards my country.

A Rude Awakening

I got a rude awakening after my speech. As I moved towards the door, the British Consul, who had been present, came up to me. My speech had gone down well and he knew it; too well, perhaps, for him. He laid a nervous hand on my arm and drew me aside. He was obviously distressed. "I hope," he said, "you won't take that line

elsewhere. We don't want them to stop sending us food parcels". There you had it. That was all he could think of. What he wanted was food parcels, at almost any price. Pride in his country, the plight of others, these meant next to nothing by comparison. He did not see his country as meant to earn her living with pride in the sweat of her own brow. She was, rather, to negotiate an existence, relying, where possible, on the sweat of others. All that mattered was that Britain be fed, allowed to take up the cozy, self-contained existence of a minor power apart from the world. She had no more to contribute.

Living Standards before Pride

I have never forgotten that incident in Los Angeles. It left me very depressed. If the view of that Consul was representative of a new official attitude, then I knew we were done for. Unfortunately, this proved to be the case. The Washington Loan confirmed my worst fears. What worried me was not the loan itself—this might indeed be necessary—but the use to which it was put. Combined with the coming of the Welfare State, it revealed an official mind determined to put Britain's standard of living before its pride, content to live well at others' expense. As is so often the case, official self-centredness filtered down from top to bottom. Public opinion began to move away from the thought that we were meant to earn our own living and do it with pride. National existence came to be regarded as a matter of manipulation, rather than hard work. It did not really touch the individual citizen. It was a task essentially for government. It is still that way with us. Nineteen years later, in 1966, we still find ourselves living by grace of the international banking community; maintaining a fake standard of living through the manipulation of enormous short-term loans. The real tragedy is found in the fact that no one is particularly concerned that this should be the case. We have lost our national pride.

Britain's official attitude to the rest of the world in the immediate post-war years reflected a similar attitude at home. It is to be expected that a government prepared to live off alms from abroad should think of its citizens as

content to live off the alms at home. Itself propped up from outside, it saw its domestic duty as that of propping up the individual citizen. The discarding of international obligations went side by side with the view that people at home wanted to be relieved of responsibility. It was no longer government's task to present the Englishman and his family with opportunity. He was someone to be taken care of. Planned welfare became the goal. It combined with planning of the economy to create a system which consolidated international beggary as an integral part of post-war Britain's national way of life. For welfare and planning between them stifled individual initiative. Padded by welfare at one end, taxed stiff at the other, the average citizen was left without inducement to undertake that marginal working effort which, for a modern nation, makes the difference between poverty and a reasonable standard of living. The effort was not made; instead, the difference was borrowed from abroad. That way we had the standard of living we wanted without working for it. The citizen, of course, was never confronted with the grim reality of his country's international situation. This is still the case today. Given security at home through the Welfare State; his standard of living bolstered with loans from abroad, he was unaware that his country was failing to pay its way. He appeared to be paying his and remained content. The failure here was one of communication; the realities of Britain's international position never touched his pocket in drastic fashion; the enduring crisis was never reflected in his standard of living. Successive post-war governments, whether Labour or Conservative, were without the guts to do so. They placed him in a fool's paradise. There he continued to live, losing, meanwhile, the habit of hard, above all intelligent work; crying "I'm all right Jack" to the man next door. He could hardly be blamed. Government was doing the same. Before the fifties were out Mr. Harold Macmillan was to tell the bankrupt British people that they'd never had it so good. All this time, of course, our international authority was crumbling. You cannot sit at the council table without economic strength.

Incident at Munster

The case was quite different on the European mainland. I remember that same year 1947 not only for the incident at Los Angeles, but also for a trip made to war-shattered Germany. At the very end of 1946, I went to attend an international gathering of Christian students at Munster in Westphalia, the first to be held since before the Hitler regime. The city was a shambles, adequate living conditions conspicuous by their absence. Our conferences were held in a couple of university buildings, almost the only ones in the city, so far as I could see, to have escaped the relentless Allied bombardment. I made my way to lectures through streets narrowed in places to footpaths, with the rubble piled high on either side. Ruin was all around me. "It will take them six years to clear this stuff away", I said to a companion as we sloshed through the mud to the conference room. How wrong I was! Within far less time than that, Munster, like the rest of Germany, was on its feet; tattered and scarred, but doing business in what were at first no more than ersatz shops and ramshackle factories, getting the wheels moving with amazing speed, summoning seemingly endless reserves of energy to the task and absorbing in the process millions of refugees from the East. Meanwhile, we were puttering along into relative stagnation. I remember discussing the contrast, some years later, with the great German Jesuit economist, Oswald von Nell-Breuning. It was very simple, he said; Western Germany had the choice of rebuilding her economic base and letting welfare take care of itself or planning economic life on a state-welfare basis and letting the economy limp. The first meant releasing initiative, the second, constraining it. His countrymen had chosen the first course. I have no doubt but that they were right.

Western Europe as a whole took the German line. Where Britain limped along at a low rate of productivity she bounded. The difference was marked to the most casual observer. One had but to cross the Channel to feel it. It was like that between beer and champagne. Mainland Europe was alive, Britain listless and dreary. There was

and is far more than a surface difference here. The contrast basically was between two ways of life. It is no coincidence that the three great statesmen who pulled Europe out of its post-war ruin were steeped in the finest traditions of Christian Democracy. Adenauer, de Gasperi and Robert Schumann were social and political philosophers as well as statesmen of the first rank. They understood, as Englishmen of either party did not, the place of government in a nation's life. They saw the function of government as subsidiary, as meant to supplement, never supplant individual effort: their practical thinking, therefore, was in terms of devolution. In their Christian way of thinking, society was for the individual, the duty of government, therefore, to furnish a framework within which the citizen, through responsible action, could achieve fulfilment as a person. This meant in practice the recognition and establishment of the motive of family gain as the driving force behind the economy. It was in man's nature to work best when he worked for his wife and children. The art of government, therefore, lay in the construction of a framework which would allow the citizen to do this with respect, of course, for the right of others to do the same. From this process, the whole community would benefit. At the same time, national life would be enriched through the plurality of voluntary organisations which men would build up to foster the opportunity which belonged to each by right as the prerogative of his human nature, that, namely, of making his own way forward in freedom under God and with respect for the right of others to do the same. It was the business of government, in the view of Europe's Christian statesmen, to encourage the individual citizen along this way, supplementing his efforts where these proved insufficient, but never supplanting them; maintaining the direction of a nation's life through remote control as distinct from centralised direction, working through the individual citizen, but never in spite of him. This was not *laissez-faire*. Control was exercised, but never centralised. It worked for the individual, therefore through the motive of family gain. It could never be against him; that is, despite the

motive of family gain. This latter course could lead only to the economic absurdity of killing the goose that laid the golden eggs, the prelude always to the production of proletariat, a race, that is, of no-men. Man's nature was that of a responsible human being. As such he had to be treated. Disregard of his dignity, through the kindest, even, of misplaced motives, would lead to economic stagnation.

Rider and Horse

It is this that the English Socialists never saw. They were unable to grasp that there was an alternative to the horrors of *laissez-faire* on the one hand or the deadening effects of centralised state planning on the other. They came out of the war with their minds still full of the thirties, the illicit conclusion, shared by so many, that the war economy could be applied to the problems of peace and a whole gamut of unrepealed war-time controls enabling them, as they thought, to do so. Socialism flourishes under siege conditions. What simpler than to prolong the siege? That was the mentality and it is only fair to note *en passant* that it was shared by the bulk of the population. It did not belong only to the Labour Party. It was shared at the time by almost everyone. It is something of a mystery that it was; that men who had spent six years fighting Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy should have been so ready to have placed over them a version, however mild, of the regimes they detested; that, having struggled for freedom at great cost to themselves, they should have consented, when peace came, to the promise of state management of their lives. For that is what it came to. Most people, however, never saw it that way. The true Socialists did. The rest thought vaguely of a post-war partnership between government and people that would put the country on its feet. What they never realised was that the kind of state planning envisaged by Mr. Attlee and his colleagues entailed the tight economic direction of their lives. What they thought of vaguely as a framework was in fact a strait-jacket. If this was partnership, then the only kind it added up to was that between a rider and his horse, if I

may quote the parallel used by Malvern in another disreputable context. For this is what successful centralised planning ultimately entails; that government should ride the economy and that the citizenry should show a fervour in its service equal at least to that which the normal man extends to his family. The horse, in other words, must be docile, responsive to its rider. It is here that the plan comes unstuck, at the point where the taxation levied to support the public expenditure entailed by its execution makes the extra (marginal) effort required of the citizen no longer seem worth while. Yet the extra effort has to be made if the plan is to go through: at the same time, incentive cannot be restored through the remission of taxation because this would leave government short of the raw materials required to complete the plan. Thus government finds itself between the devil and the deep blue sea. Without incentive it is short of man-hours. With incentive it is short of material resources. Either way the plan remains unfulfilled. (In the ensuing confusion the real villain remains undiscovered. It is no other than the plan itself.)

Government by Exhortation

Britain has lived with this dilemma since the war. It has not solved it. In their day, Hitler and Stalin did so in typically totalitarian fashion. They geared their economies to the production of capital goods and forced their people to lump it. A gun at the citizen's back provided the necessary incentive; inflation was ruled with a rifle. It was the slave economy in modern dress, a nation of helots subservient to a booted Pharaoh. Red China is engaged in the same brutal game today. Castro is also at it. Under all these circumstances the people are made subservient to the plan, itself no more than the toy of a dictator.

This country has never been able to contemplate a totalitarian solution of the planning dilemma. This is wholly to its credit. Under the Attlee Government an attempt was made to break through the dilemma referred to above in what was thought of as typically British fashion;

to fulfil the plan by getting men to work as hard in the service of the community (in response to government exhortation) as they would work, were due incentive present, in the interests of family gain. *Planning a l'Anglaise* degenerated into government by exhortation. The public remained singularly unimpressed. Statistics bore eloquent witness to their apathy. They revealed Britain's productivity rate as amongst the lowest in Western Europe. The pound sterling remained weak and our international position bad despite the Cripps devaluation. Mr. Attlee summed up the trouble at the end of his second term as Prime Minister. His government, he said drily, had tried to do too much; plan the nation's life, that is, to the point where the weight of taxation made inoperative the individual citizen's marginal response. The gap at the margin was filled by the employment of all available labour—including married women and hundreds of thousands of immigrants—and overtime working by countless numbers of the employed. In simplest terms, it was the old story of two men doing what one should do. The result was inflation, the consequence, you might say, of an endeavour to plan the economic reconstruction of Britain irrespective of cost. The economics of war in time of peace; that is what it came to. Under these circumstances, the pound sterling weakened internationally. Britain was a bad country to buy in for all but the British whose bogus prosperity at home spilled over in the form of an increasing demand for goods from abroad. We learnt during these years to live with international financial crises which no one took seriously because all were fully (not fruitfully) employed and enjoying the scramble for goods at home.

No Change from Conservatives

During their thirteen years of rule, it can be said, I think with fairness that successive Conservative Governments brought no substantial improvement to Britain's economic situation. They dropped the attempt to govern by exhortation but, like Mr. Attlee, they still attempted to do too much. Under their administrations, welfare spending mounted, social capital increased unduly, public expenditure

remained swollen beyond all rightful bounds. As a result, taxation remained at a level that crippled the motive of family gain, the high-cost economy continued and, with it, inflation; the pound sterling remained weak. We never really recovered because government lacked the guts to take the measures necessary to enable us to do so. We never paid our way. Productivity remained low because, at base, there was too much government in the economy, too much taxation, therefore, to release energy and give individual initiative—from the highest to the lowest—full play.

Same Again from Wilson

For all his brave talk beforehand, Mr. Wilson has contributed nothing calculated to better this country's economic lot. From him we have had an irritating renewal of Mr. Attlee's totally unsuccessful attempt at government by exhortation. We have had also the worst financial crisis to hit this country since that which forced the late Sir Stafford Cripps to devalue the pound sterling in the immediate aftermath of the last war. We have been saved so far from further devaluation only by international assistance in the shape of short-term credits amounting to a little less than a thousand million pounds. This particular crisis—Mr. Wilson's second in two years—appeared to take him and his colleagues completely by surprise. His answer to it was to thrust on the country a series of panic-stricken measures, some unprecedented in peace-time, guaranteed to give us not merely deflation, but an economy even more stagnant than usual by the end of the year.

One criticises Mr. Wilson's latest measures not so much for what they do, but for what they do not. The desire to deflate is understandable. The process is necessary, but so, too, is the need to restore individual initiative, to set up, as the dynamic force in the economy, the motive of family gain. There is unfortunately no sign that Mr. Wilson and his colleagues are remotely aware of this latter need. They do not see, therefore, that the prime need today is to take government and its spending out of the economy in order that taxation may be drastically reduced. Britain's

long-term problem today is not to lower prices through the reduced production of goods, which will follow present government measures to impose stagnation and unemployment on the economy. All these will do is bring us back to square one; ready for another round of reflation before the next election. This is no more than a magnified version of Conservative stop-go, with a Wilsonian accent on the stop.

Time for a New Deal

Granted the necessity even of Mr. Wilson's measures in the short run (a thing that I, personally, am not prepared to do), no one in his senses would hold them up as containing the seeds of an effective long-term solution of this country's needs. This can only be found in a grave policy which takes government out of the economy in order that individual taxation may be cut to the point where the motive of family gain is restored to give individual initiative and energy the fullest possible play. Were this to be done, the effect on productivity rates would be close to instantaneous. Prices would begin to fall as production expanded through increased productivity; underemployment and overtime would become things of the past. The pound sterling would strengthen internationally as Britain, with the inflation drawn from its industrial guts, began to pay its way. Economic strength would then return and, with it, rightful pride.

I believe the people of this country are ready for a deal of this sort. It can be brought about, as I have said repeatedly in this essay, only through the restoration of family gain as the driving force behind this country's economic life. The condition of this is that government should retire from its present exaggerated preoccupation with the country's economy. One is not asking it to abandon final responsibility for the economic health of its people; only to be done with the crudities that flow from attempts at the centralised direction of economic and social life. The plan, in other words, must go. It is time for the rider to get down from his horse. What the poor thing needs is to be put out to grass.

Even a very brief study of the history of reform presents us with an unfavourable idea of the mind of man. A community clings to its cruelty and injustice as inevitably as a pig returns to its sty.

Chimney Boys and Coffin Ships

E. L. WAY

Is it merely coincidence or some subtle unknown law of the mind which determines that one has only to refer to a subject, of which one clearly knows little, than a book is published on it? Thus recently in an article in this magazine I wrote a cautiously worded sentence or two on the boys who were forced to climb up chimneys in order to clean them. Whether it is because in the past I have woken up suffocating from attacks brought on by hay fever, or for some unconscious dread, I have always thought of the chimney boys with compassionate horror. No book on them came my way. Not even an informative chapter. Yet no sooner had I mentioned them in print than *Roads To Ruin* by E. S. Turner was published as a Penguin. My grieving for these children (some of whom lived to be adult eunuchs caused by surgery made necessary because of cancer of the scrotum) my sorrow for these golden lads long since turned to dust was fully justified. The facts turned out to be worse than one could have imagined. It was Dr. Johnson who remarked shrewdly that people read about the fall of empires with great complacency. The fate of a few individuals, especially if they are children, is a different matter. One pities them, and is filled at wonder at the hardness of the human heart. On the other hand, the very high rate of taxation as one of the causes of Roman decline can only interest economists and historians.

"The sorrows of the rich" a Chinese proverb has it "are not real sorrows, the comforts of the poor are not real comforts."

A Case

One can grieve for the "seven-year-old Thomas Price, who (as *The Times* reported in August 1847) was twice forced into a hot flue at Tennants' chemical works, taken out half-asphyxiated, thrown on to straw and beaten ('the young devil is foxing') and finally died of convulsions. This was not one of the brutalities which could be overlooked; the sweep responsible was sentenced to ten years' transportation". Bills were passed in Parliament to put an end to the trade, but they were freely evaded. In spite of the evidence, much of it horrific, the Lords temporal and spiritual agreed that it was much better to put up with the 'great inconvenience' of chimney sweeping by boys, than the greater inconvenience of having property burned down. The chimneys in some of the great houses (Lord Beaumonts' Carlton Hall for example) went up about sixty feet, up to the roof, then descended about fifteen yards and went on flat; then ascended another fifty feet. A boy might find himself embedded in soot in the level flues. Here lay the greatest danger. But because of the bishops' fear for property, and the housewives' fear for their carpets, the chimney boys' fate was sealed until 1875. (In the early 1870s a boy of fourteen was suffocated in Cambridge, and in Gateshead a ten-year-old lad was 'atrociously murdered'—a description used by the Earl of Shaftesbury.) The use of a brush and an inexpensive alteration to the chimney was all that was necessary.

Coffin Ships

In *Roads To Ruin* a long chapter is given to the coffin ships. These were rotten hulks, dangerously overloaded, heavily insured and sent to sea where they sank in large numbers drowning the seamen and enriching the owners. In 1868 the officials of the Board of Trade noted that "of 2,000 vessels in the carrying trade which suffered wreck

or casualty, 'half the number is represented by the unseaworthy, overladen or ill-found vessels of the collier class chiefly employed in their coasting trade. For the six years ending 1868 the number is more than half'. Plimsoll exposed the whole rotten business in his pamphlet *Our Seamen*. He was honoured by being attacked for conduct 'highly reprehensible and injurious to the honour and dignity of the House of Commons'. (Two or three wealthy shipowners had become M.P.s).

Legal Action

The solicitors acting for the owners of a vessel wrote to Plimsoll demanding "the name of the person from whom you have received the intelligence and also to request an apology for injury sustained by our clients in consequence of your statement". Samuel Plimsoll was defiant: "I will not give you the name of my informant. I will make no apology; and as to compensation due to your clients and all other shipowners who send unseaworthy vessels to sea with men a thousand times better than themselves on board is, in my opinion, a halter apiece and the offices of the hangman. Do your worst." After ten years of struggle the battle was finally won. In 1928 Plimsolls' grave was discovered in a churchyard at Sandgate, near Folkestone. It was hidden by weeds and the green moss had to be scraped away. The National Union of Seamen erected the Plimsoll memorial on Thames Embankment thirty years after his death. The days of 'sail or jail' were over. (In the case of the ship *Wimbledon* three crews were sent to jail for refusing to sail her. A fourth crew set sail and the ship was lost. The jailed crews, however, were not released from prison.)

Everybody Drunk

The workers in the early days of the last century were often paid in the pubs. It was good for the publicans. Mill girls of ten and twelve consorted with prostitutes of the same age in the drink shops. You could be 'Drunk for a Penny, Dead Drunk for Twopence, Straw Free'. Babies

two years old died of alcoholic poisoning. Much of the senseless drinking was a mute criticism of the heartless and brutal industrial system. After the Tory government had passed the Beer Act of 1830 anyone who paid the excise fee of two guineas had the right to sell beer. Small drinking shops opened by the thousand. The Rev. Sydney Smith said, "Everybody is drunk. Those who are not singing are sprawling. The sovereign people are in a beastly state". Dr. Magee, Bishop of Peterborough, was against legislation. He said "... better that England should be free than that England should be sober". O Freedom! what crimes are committed in thy name. Let the babies get drunk in thy honour.

Grandmotherly Legislation

When a 'truism' is repeated generation after generation it is well to examine it closely. It may well turn out to be nonsense. It has been repeated often enough, God knows, that you cannot make a people moral by act of parliament. The slow growth, the paralysingly slow growth of decency has been the result of grandmotherly legislation. (And decency is the secular word for morality in this instance.) Is it not acts of parliament which put an end to spring guns and mantraps, chimney boys, the ninety-hour week, the hanging drawing and quartering of traitors, the coffin ships, the drunkenness of children, the death sentence for two hundred felonies, and the heartless brutality of child labour ?

Important Questions

Did it never cross the mind of a churchman, one wonders, that it was somewhat harsh to hang a man for impersonating a Chelsea Pensioner? If you go to Mass today, with Turner's book fresh in your mind, you can't help being struck by the contrast of the two worlds. The church is enormous and clean and filled with a respectable and well-dressed congregation. On the wall is a huge crucifix from which all traces of agony are missing. You wonder if the churches of the 1860s were also occupied by the respectable

and the well-dressed while on the high seas overloaded ships with rotten beams and sham bolts (used by the builders to save money) were lost with all hands on board. In the Sunday Schools the chimney sweeps were exhorted "to learn your lessons and try to read the blessed Bible... thus you will be happy little sweeps, and you will learn to praise the gracious God, who can make our situations in life comfortable, whatever the circumstances in which Providence has placed us". God certainly never placed little boys of six in soot-caked chimneys which were sometimes only nine inches square. Men and women did that. When you look at the facts without prejudice it is perfectly clear why the masses were lost to Christianity. The churches at the time were incapable of thinking about, or fighting for, justice for them. There were, of course, many noble exceptions, but they were exceptions all the same and met with resentment and bitter hostility. (A couple of clerics tried to send Don Bosco to the madhouse, but he locked them in the vehicle and sent them there instead. He was not without humour.)

Resistance to Change

Why is there such bitter resistance to necessary reform ? There is selfishness masquerading as economic reasoning, of course. But who today, for the benefit of the publicans, would think of permitting liquor to be given to a child under five ? Yet until 1908 this was allowed. Or who would dream that there could be opposition to the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885 ? Until it was passed the age at which a girl might consent to be seduced was thirteen. (It was as low as seven in some American States.) One of the arguments which prevented the age of consent from being raised from sixteen to eighteen was that girls of this age would not be allowed to follow the only profession they knew which was prostitution. The mind of man is unfathomable, but surely its chief claim to infamy is the ease with which it produces good reasons for evil customs and behaviour. Thank God for the reformers.

MONTHLY REPORT

Over the past couple of years, and increasingly in 1966, the world's Communist Parties have stirred up innumerable protests in western countries against the war in Vietnam. According to past North Vietnamese experience, these protests should have completely sapped American morale. The following article sets out some of the stresses created in North Vietnam by the failure of this tactic and by setbacks in the war itself. It is reprinted by kind permission of the Editor of *Social Survey*, our Australian Jesuit contemporary.

Stress and Strain in North Vietnam

P. J. HONEY

NORTH VIETNAM'S Communist leaders are justifiably proud of their victory in the lengthy war they waged against the French, and have published much material explaining how they achieved that victory. Unfortunately, all of it is written in the language of communist "new-speak", a jargon composed of cliches, repetitious and almost meaningless circumlocutions and slogans, so that few outside the ranks of professional scholars have had the patience to read it. Those who do persevere will discover that the North Vietnamese communists believe people's revolutionary warfare to be a science, governed by immutable laws which, if they are correctly applied, render the people's revolutionary forces invincible.

No Public Opinion

One such law teaches that, in any conflict with a democratic state, the totalitarian communist regime enjoys an enormous advantage. Every important decision in a communist state is taken by a tiny Party oligarchy and is accepted uncritically by all because no public opinion is permitted to exist and information media remain the monopoly of the regime. Democracy, on the other hand, permits — indeed encourages — the expression of widely divergent opinions, with the result that the policies of the democratic government are always questioned and criticised by its domestic political opponents.

Communist unanimity is, therefore, opposed to a government functioning under constant fire from political rivals and dissatisfied electors. Vietnamese communists have become the world's most highly skilled manipulators of this critical opposition and are adepts at exaggerating it, making it appear more important than it really is, and focusing maximum publicity upon it. In doing so, they successfully breed uncertainty and indecision in the democratic state, and even contrive to influence its policies by the threat of vociferous protest which may result if some particularly effective course of action is adopted.

The tactic was singularly successful against the French for a number of reasons. French political life was particularly fragmented following the second World War; France was impoverished by the long German occupation; the French effort in Vietnam was a heavy drain on the national economy.

During the more recent aggression against South Vietnam, the Vietnamese communists have contrived once again to set in motion protest movements against American support for the South Vietnamese Government; but the effect upon the determined policy of the American Government has been slight, and the American military commitment in South Vietnam has continued to mount. In other words, one of the fundamental laws of people's revolutionary warfare does not appear to be working.

Self-Delusion

True, the North Vietnamese press exaggerates the size and importance of these protests, so that many of its readers are led badly astray. Indeed, James Cameron, the British journalist who visited North Vietnam in December 1965, writes: "I was trying to explain to them. But how? They did not really believe me when I said that Bertrand Russell is not yet the surging dynamic behind an effective British opposition".¹ But this self-delusion does not extend to the most senior members of the Lao Dong (Communist) Party. These men know that the Viet Cong in South Vietnam now sustains monthly losses of 17,000 men, that the American military presence has grown to more than 200,000 soldiers and will increase further, that the South Vietnamese war makes ever greater demands upon North Vietnam's resources and manpower.

The knowledge is creating marked consternation in their ranks, primarily because the rules of "people's war", so infallible in the conflict against the French, are no longer working. Other stresses, too, are present in North Vietnam. Signs of material strain, of sinking morale, and of collapsing self-assurance among the leaders become daily more apparent.

France and America

It has long been the practice of senior Vietnamese communists to study past experiences and to draw lessons from them which are then applied to new situations. In theory this should enable former errors to be avoided and result in the increasingly successful conduct of affairs. In practice, though, the Vietnamese have tended to apply solutions which have worked in the past to new situations not always analogous.

They have, for example, been studiously applying the lessons learned in the war against the French to the current war, but remain apparently unaware of the differences between France in the 1940s and 1950s and America today, between a resistance movement without governmental

1. *Witness*, by James Cameron. Gollancz, London, 1966, pp. 50-51.

responsibilities and a communist government responsible for the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and its people, between a war to drive out a foreign colonial power and a war fought by North Vietnamese and their communist allies in the South to impose an alien regime upon unwilling South Vietnamese, and much else besides.

Gullible Liberals

Some of the factors, of course, remain constant. The techniques for stirring up protest movements abroad by using local Communist Parties, the politically estranged, the pacifists, the gullible liberals, etc., work today as they did before.

The Viet Cong movement in South Vietnam, constructed from earlier blueprints and tightly controlled by a semi-clandestine Communist Party, has worked up to a point, though captured documents reveal that it has signally failed to attract spontaneous support from the population and has had to rely more and more upon terror. But this partial success has proved more baffling to North Vietnamese leaders than total success or failure would have done. "Since the protest movement is very active in the United States", it is being asked, "why does the American Government not react as the French Government did?"

Answers acceptable to all the leaders have not yet been found, and the quest for them is producing no little disarray and consternation among the senior communists. The ordinary people too, conditioned by ceaseless propaganda to expect unbroken successes, is aware of failures and grows demoralised. The symptoms of this *malaise* are apparent, though there seems to be scant agreement among the leaders over what should be done to correct it. Difficulties are evident in a number of spheres.

Shortage of Food

Food, for example, is a perennial problem of North Vietnam, and the difficulties imposed upon its production by war have further reduced an already inadequate supply. People are being encouraged to plant "subsidiary crops",

maize, sweet potatoes, cassava, beans, and the like, rather than rice.

The gravity of the food situation has obliged North Vietnam's press, which normally recounts only tales of achievement, rising production, and wildly optimistic forecasts, to offer its readers some hint of true conditions by way of explaining the all too apparent shortages.

At the turn of the year, when it is the custom of the press to review achievements during the previous twelve months, large numbers of articles were devoted to the agricultural situation. The following brief extracts will convey an idea of the content:

"Agricultural production in 1965 was carried out under conditions of extreme difficulty owing to the war of destruction waged by the United States imperialists, to water-logging, to drought and to insect pests . . . The tenth month crop encountered great natural calamities . . . Subsidiary crops are now playing an increasingly important role in agricultural production . . . On the whole, the general output of the whole of North Vietnam during 1965 was less than in the previous year".²

"Rice production alone cannot meet the food requirements, which increase with each passing year. In the event of unforeseen setbacks, if the rice harvest is poor and there is also a shortage of subsidiary crops, the food situation will run into even greater difficulties."³

The numerous articles on the difficulties of food production were preceded in November 1965, by others emphasising the need for economy in food consumption and advocating campaigns of individual sacrifices in the food ration.

Opposition

Another major difficulty besetting the communist leaders in North Vietnam is the opposition which they are encountering within their own country. Press articles speak guardedly—or even not so guardedly—about failing resolve, sabotage, and counter-propaganda, and it is quite clear that

2. *Nhan Dan* (ND), December 29, 1965.

3. ND, January 5, 1966.

some elements of the North Vietnamese people are not at one with their masters in backing the present policies.

"A small number of reactionaries, who are class-revanchists, try to co-operate with the imperialists in their efforts to accomplish their dark designs. The wicked enemy wants to infiltrate our ranks by any means and to sabotage our offices and factories from within . . . Owing to the rapid development in socialist construction, and also to our lack of experience in organisational and technical management, we have encountered difficulties in the protection of our production and other work ".⁴

"Whenever the situation underwent complex changes and encountered difficulties, hardships or dangers, some of them (the younger workers) weighed the pros and cons in terms of their own personal interests, lacked patience and perseverance, and became perplexed and wavering. When conditions were favourable, they showed subjectivism and lack of revolutionary vigilance. Their sense of organisation and discipline is still weak ".⁵

Fighting hamlets established on the model of the former strategic hamlets in South Vietnam are said to be "constantly on the alert against the resurgence of reactionaries inside our own country ".⁶ Inspiring tales abound, relating how fiendishly clever enemy spies seek to elicit military information, only to be outwitted by even more fiendishly clever and vigilant North Vietnamese.

It would be possible to provide examples of difficulties, shortcomings, and uncertainty in many other spheres as well, but the above examples will suffice.

Two Divergent Voices

North Vietnamese leaders have faithfully applied the lessons drawn from past experiences, and have observed all the scientific principles governing the waging of a people's liberation war, yet the country has run into unprecedented and certainly unforeseen troubles. The

4. *Thu Do Hanoi*, November 18, 1965.

5. *Lao Dong*, December 4, 1965.

6. *Quan Doi Nhan Dan*, December 17, 1965.

communist regime is puzzled and bemused, for it believes these two procedures to be infallible while events demonstrate that they are not.

The leaders are unsure how they should now react under these circumstances and, in fact, different leaders have reacted in very different ways.

Nowhere are these differences illustrated more plainly than in two major and lengthy articles recently published in North Vietnam. The first was written by General Vo Nguyen Giap, Deputy Premier and Minister of Defence, and a member of the Party Politburo. It was published by instalments in *Nhan Dan* of January 16, 17 and 18, 1966, as well as in its entirety in the January issue of the Party theoretical monthly, *Hoc Tap*. The second was by Le Duc Tho, a Party Secretary, Head of the Party Cadres Office, and also a member of the Party Politburo. It, too, appeared by instalments in *Nhan Dan* and complete in the February issue of *Hoc Tap*.

These two eminent N. Vietnamese leaders are, quite certainly, well apprised of all the facts of the situation. Giap with a reaction very close to British "stiff upper lip", commences with an admission that the situation facing the Vietnamese people is extremely serious and goes on to prove that a Vietnamese victory is inevitable. For him, the difficulties are all of the enemy's making, and he will admit to no failings or weaknesses on the part of the North Vietnamese people or of the Viet Cong in the South.

As a morale booster, the article is excellent, provided its readers are not endowed with overmuch intelligence. Indeed, it would serve admirably as a pep talk to a unit of Giap's regular soldiers. Le Duc Tho, on the other hand, is not accustomed to haranguing soldiers, but rather to dealing with Party cadres and officers, who are probably more sophisticated and certainly more devious than the simple army men.

Perhaps it is for that reason that he chose to admit some of the failures and difficulties, which must in any case be known to his readers, and to exhort, cajole and even threaten people in order to induce them to apply the

solutions which he advocates. It is of some interest to examine these admissions made by Le Duc Tho, for they are revealing, and to contrast them with some of the statements made by Vo Nguyen Giap about the same subjects.

Determined to Fight

Writing of the enormous military might of the United States and of President Johnson's peace offensive, Giap states: "Our people are not swayed by their power and do not cherish any illusions about their hypocritical arguments. We are determined to fight and we will certainly defeat them".

The situation, according to Le Duc Tho, is not at all like that. Making only the customary concession of referring to "a small number of comrades", he describes reactions with unaccustomed frankness: "A small number of comrades have developed erroneous thoughts and views. Concerning the combat task, they have made an incorrect assessment of the balance of power between the enemy and ourselves, and of the enemy tricks. Now they entertain subjectivism and pacifism, slacken their vigilance, and fail to get ideologically ready for combat".

Disclosure

It is known from other sources that a faction of the Lao Dong Party, including some members of the Politburo, has long favoured an ending of the war in the South; but this is the first occasion on which the fact has been affirmed in a published article.

Moreover, Tho has explained the reasons why that faction holds this view. They fear that U.S. military might is too great, and that it is beyond the capacity of the Vietnamese Communists to resist it. Though this opinion casts doubt upon the invincibility of people's revolutionary warfare, it is at least comprehensible in the light of North Vietnamese experience; the second reason is not. To maintain that the United States might be sincere in its desire for a negotiated peace, as some North Vietnamese Communists have done, must appear to their more doctrinaire colleagues to be a sign of excessive gullibility or stupidity.

The admission that such views exist today could not have been easy for Tho to make publicly. "Now they see only difficulties and do not see opportunities", he goes on, "display pessimism, perplexity, and a reluctance to carry on protracted resistance; fail to realize clearly the deceptive peace negotiation plot of the enemy; and rely on outside aid."

Fence-Sitting

The last clause provides a clue to Le Duc Tho's thinking about the place of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in the communist world during this period of bitter Sino-Soviet discord. "The entire Party must develop the spirit of independence of thought, boldly created by basing itself firmly on the general truths of Marxism-Leninism and on the positive revolutionary realities in our country, and struggle against behaving like automata or straight-forward imitators."

The Party at present lacks this independence, he strongly implies, and receives its ideas ready-made from outside. But from what source? The pacifism, pessimism, and perplexity he attributes directly to "rightist views" and "individualism", which he says must be eliminated. Revisionism, the "main danger", he associates with these two deviations, thus unmistakably pinning the blame on the Soviet Union for his colleagues' lack of determination to press forward with the war at all costs until final victory.

Nevertheless, it is curious that he should have described the pacifist faction as relying on "outside aid," which suggests that the Russians are intervening directly in internal Vietnamese affairs and are assisting the members of this faction in putting forward their views. To avoid turning his article into an anti-Soviet polemic, Tho also condemns "leftist deviations" and "dogmatism", but he says of them merely that they "may occur", implying that they are not now present to any important degree. Moreover, he cites the past experience of the Soviet Union in one of his examples in order to temper the anti-Soviet tone of the article.

What Le Duc Tho would wish in North Vietnam, and

what very obviously does not exist there today, is a united Communist Party, basing itself upon the general principles of Marxism-Leninism but forming its own policies solely upon what it conceived to be the demands of the Vietnamese situation, uninfluenced by either Moscow or Peking, but particularly by Moscow.

For China

Now undoubtedly Chinese pressures upon the communist regime are very great at the present time, but they escape all but a purely perfunctory condemnation. There can be one of two reasons for this. Either Le Duc Tho is convinced that China's geographical proximity and enormous size make it necessary for Vietnam to align its policies with those of China at all times, or else he feels that present Chinese policy is close to that he now considers desirable for N. Vietnam.

There is no doubt at all that he is extremely hostile to all Soviet attempts to moderate North Vietnam's present warlike policy and to change it for one aiming at a negotiated peace. Vo Nguyen Giap, in his article chooses to ignore the existence of Sino-Soviet differences altogether and writes, "the brother socialist countries have given their unreserved support".

The redeployment of North Vietnam's Party and governmental machinery, made necessary by the war, especially by the American bombing of North Vietnam, has brought into sharp relief all the inefficiencies resulting from over-centralisation during the years of communist rule.

Any authoritarian form of government runs the risk of over-centralisation, for it is naturally orientated towards decision-making at the centre and the slavish execution of these decisions by local organs, but North Vietnam's difficulties in reorganising its control machinery would seem to be especially great, to judge from Le Duc Tho's article.

The central organs have grown top-heavy, bound up in red tape, incapable of reacting quickly. "A number of organisations and comrades . . . still fail to re-adjust their

working methods to accord with war-time requirements . . . still have a low organisational, disciplinary, and revolutionary fighting spirit . . . the execution (of directives) is still performed at one's own convenience and with a fear of difficulties".

He castigates the imbalance between central and regional organs and describes the machinery of liaison as "complicated, bulky, and duplicative". "The situation", the article goes on, "which was already illogical, has become even more illogical in the face of the new requirements of a country at war".

Reorganisation

The universal tendency of all bureaucrats to accumulate responsibilities is sharply criticised: "It is necessary to overcome the bureaucratic tendency to assume all tasks, the red tape centralisation, the tendency to control all basic organisations of minor importance, to preserve the right to decide many concrete things while one is unable to follow the situation closely, particularly in time of war"; Worse still, numbers of comrades "are reluctant to reduce the size of their machineries, to reduce their authority. they have no confidence in the ability of the regional and basic echelons, and they are unable to see all the requirements for a change in the trend of the machinery in wartime".

The function of the central echelons is to help the Party Central Committee and government to lay down broad outlines, policies, trends and measures and to "supervise, encourage and guide" their implementation. In future, the individual province will be the basic administrative unit, and provinces are urged to achieve local self-sufficiency, controlling their own agriculture, industry, armed forces and militia, etc. "This is in accordance with wartime demands and will enable each province and zone to become self-sufficient in the highest degree in wartime. It is also in accordance with the trend of our future progress."

The province will control and direct the district administrations within its own borders, and districts will become

responsible for the management of their agricultural, handicraft bases, small engineering workshops, transport, communications, fishing, and so on.

Once again, the consequences of past neglect are underlined by Le Duc Tho. "The machinery at district level has not run smoothly and has lacked cadres, personnel, and the means necessary to carry out its work." No reference to any of these difficulties occurs anywhere in Vo Nguyen Giap's article.

Party Deficiencies.

Primary responsibility for the whole reorganisation and for correcting the daunting legacy of earlier mistakes will devolve upon the Communist Party, but the Party too, it would seem, is in very poor shape. Discipline has become lax, and Le Duc Tho stresses the need for Party members to overcome an inadequate organisational and disciplinary sense and to eliminate "the tendency to speak as they please, and at random".

There is, he alleges, an insufficiently serious attitude towards Party instructions and resolutions. Such an attitude is reflected in the fact that the Party instructions and resolutions are discussed and studied only perfunctorily . . . the leading cadres themselves subjectively make light of the resolutions . . . ideological struggle and criticism and self-criticism are not thoroughly carried out.

It is a measure of the poor state of affairs that Le Duc Tho finds it necessary to write, "all Party members must correctly implement the Party resolutions". Indeed, he goes on to threaten that those members who fail to correct their shortcomings and measure up to minimum standards of performance will be expelled from the Party.

Nor is it only the internal affairs of North Vietnam which incur Le Duc Tho's displeasure and criticism. He is aware that world pressures for a negotiated end to the Vietnamese war, particularly President Johnson's much publicised peace offensive in January, have damaged North Vietnam and have robbed her of potential supporters. This he holds to be the fault of the Foreign Affairs Ministry, and it too, is

criticised by him. "Recently", he writes, "our foreign relations task failed to catch up with the times and was not sharp. It is necessary for us to step up the political and diplomatic struggle more actively, cleverly, and in a more timely manner."

But, in fact, he is being unfair, for the fault lies more with North Vietnam's policy makers, the Politburo, than with her diplomats, who have been given virtually no room at all for manoeuvre. "Negotiation" is today regarded as a dirty word in North Vietnam and has acquired the connotation similar to that of "appeasement" in Britain during the second World War. That this is so reflects lack of confidence in the pro-war faction of the Party and its apprehensions about the potential strength of the peace faction.

Optimism

In sharp contrast to Le Duc Tho's admissions of muddle, inefficiency, indiscipline and divisions, Vo Nguyen Giap's article adopts the attitude that all is well. While indicating that people must increase their efforts because the war is now reaching a crucial stage, he affects to be unworried by the situation of the communists in North or South Vietnam and to be fully confident of victory because of the inexorable laws governing revolutionary warfare. "People's war in our country has developed according to the general law of revolutionary war, but also to the specific laws of Vietnamese society and battlefields." For him, that is sufficient guarantee of success.

Disunity does not exist for Giap, who writes about an "unprecedented political and spiritual consensus . . . Never have all the people united so firmly and broadly as today".

Overseas, too, the situation is no less promising, one for which North Vietnamese diplomats are to be congratulated rather than censured: "Never in the history of their revolutionary struggle have our people enjoyed so widespread and strong a sympathy and support from abroad as today".

A comparison of these two articles would seem to suggest that their authors were writing about two completely

different countries, two different wars, and two different Communist Parties. Yet both men are members of the same Politburo which remains in constant session at Hanoi. They meet regularly, discuss developments, and create policy on the basis of the same information placed before them. What is the explanation for the enormous gulf which divides them?

Conclusions

It is highly improbable that Le Duc Tho's account of shortcomings is exaggerated. Little would be achieved by exaggeration; morale would be endangered; and Le Duc Tho himself would be censured by his colleagues for defeatism. He is far more likely to have concluded that the greater part of what he wrote would already be known to specialists in the outside world, as indeed it is, and common knowledge to the people of North Vietnam themselves.

If he has erred at all, it is probably on the side of understatement, for there is always a tendency to under-play the gravity of a difficult situation in wartime. What he appears to be undertaking is an appraisal of all the difficulties now being faced by North Vietnam, a listing of problems to be solved, so as to provide guidance on the ways he feels the country and people might best tackle both.

Viewing the same situation, Vo Nguyen Giap seems to have concluded that people needed reassuring, that they needed to be convinced of the possibility, even the certainty, of final victory. Perhaps he has erred in failing to mention difficulties or failures, but an article or speech designed to raise falling morale cannot deal too much with failures.

Perhaps it is a measure of the difficulties and hardships under which the regime is now labouring that two of its most senior leaders should publish such very different articles in the same papers and separated by only a few weeks.

INDUSTRIAL ANGLE

Our immediate problem is to prevent a persistent balance of payments deficit which undermines confidence and causes a run on the pound. We must therefore reduce imports, cut government spending abroad, and limit the growth of home demand. But in the long run we must increase productivity by the use of more efficient machinery, by encouraging investment, and abandoning restrictive practices and monopolies. And it is vital to increase our exports.

GO! GO! GO!

J. M. JACKSON

LAST month, I criticised severely the emergency measures announced in July by the Government to meet the economic crisis which threatened the value of the pound. Those measures amounted to a fresh dose, on a grand scale, of the stop half of the traditional stop-go policies adopted by one government after another since the end of the war. There were admittedly novel elements, such as the statutory wage freeze, but such elements do not alter the essential character of the measures taken. It was another dose of massive deflation, curtailing home incomes and demand (and therefore employment) very considerably with a view to securing a much smaller reduction in our imports. As I pointed out last month, we may only have a balance of payments deficit of, say, £100 million, but if we import something like 10 per cent of what we consume, we will need to cut home incomes by £1,000 millions in order to bring about the necessary reduction of imports by this means alone.

Among the critics of the Government's incomes policy are people like Mr. Frank Cousins who argue that the

whole approach is wrong. Instead of trying to reduce the rate of increase in money incomes down to the same level as the rate of increase in productivity, the government should try to make the rate of increase in productivity match the rise in money incomes. In the long run, there is something to be said for this point of view. The immediate problem has to be faced, however. At the moment, productivity is not rising rapidly, if at all. If, therefore, we let wages rise now the inevitable result is an intensification of the inflationary pressures and a worsening of the balance of payments crisis. Whilst we must aim at increasing productivity more rapidly as part of the real long-run solution of our problems, this is no reason for abandoning all attempts to keep money incomes within bounds until we succeed in our long-term task. There may be good reasons for criticising incomes policy as at present envisaged by the government, but this is not one of them.

Short Term Measures

We must, therefore, face up first of all to the fact that we have a serious economic problem that demands immediate action. While inflation is in many ways undesirable in itself, it is the international aspect that is most immediately pressing. Because our money incomes are increasing too rapidly and running ahead of the increase in output, our prices tend to rise. This makes it more difficult to sell our goods abroad, and, even more important, British consumers tend to spend on imports when they are either dissatisfied with British goods or when the supply of British goods falls short of the demand.

Sooner or later, our reserves of gold and foreign exchange will be exhausted by a continuing balance of payments deficit. If it were merely a question of the actual deficit on our balance of payments, however, we would have plenty of time in which to try and remedy our economic situation. The trouble is that once a persistent deficit appears, foreigners who have lent us money in the past lose confidence and begin to fear devaluation and to sell their sterling holdings for other currencies before devaluation

occurs. This is the speculative run on sterling which we hear so much about, but it should be made quite clear that it is little more than a reasonable precaution on the part of foreign holders of sterling of being robbed of a substantial part of their assets and not a malicious conspiracy against sterling. But it is this speculative run which makes emergency action necessary in a serious balance of payments crisis.

The immediate objective must be to reduce imports. There is some reason to suspect that the rise in imports is, in fact, a more serious element in the crisis than a falling off of exports. In the autumn of 1964, the Government tried to reduce imports directly by the imposition of tariffs. This was an unfortunate measure, for several reasons. It was, in the first place, contrary to our treaty obligations and therefore aroused resentment; and secondly, it is doubtful whether the increased price resulting from the tariff would, in the prevailing inflationary situation, have sufficient impact on the volume of imports. It would have been far better to have used quota restrictions. Quota restrictions, in a crisis, would not have contravened our international obligations. Moreover, they could have been more selective than a tariff. It would be possible, for example, to have banned completely the import of certain types of non-essential consumer goods and limit others very severely.

There may have been some difficulty about imposing such restrictions last July whilst an import surcharge from 1964 still remained. Undoubtedly there were signs that foreign bankers were more favourably inclined towards the deflationary policy followed by the Government than towards further restrictions on imports. It was a bad mistake to pay too much attention to such an attitude. The Government should have abolished its illegal and useless import surcharge and imposed quota restrictions which would have cut imports to the required degree.

Government spending Abroad

The Government's own spending abroad should also be reviewed more critically. Some cuts have been promised

in government defence spending abroad, but it is difficult to know just what is implied here. Will the promised cuts materialise, and will they amount to more than very short-term measures. There is, for example, some suggestion that so-called cuts are merely speeding up of cuts already announced. This will, of course, help towards solving the immediate crisis, but it makes no contribution to the long-run solution, for a few years hence our spending abroad will be no lower than it would otherwise have been.

The Government, and its predecessors, has also been remiss in its handling of the BAOR situation. Admittedly, we want to keep forces in Germany as a contribution to the defence of Europe as a whole, including ourselves. Nevertheless, expenditure on forces in Germany is very different economically from expenditure on the same forces in Britain. We have to pay for everything bought on behalf of these forces in Germany in German currency, and this means setting aside part of the earnings of our export industries for the purpose. For the Germans, on the other hand, the fact that the British forces are there is an invaluable source of foreign exchange without the slightest effort on their part. We should, therefore, years ago have made it quite clear that unless the Germans agreed to make substantial offsetting expenditures to meet the foreign exchange cost of the BAOR, we would re-call a major part of our forces from Germany and thus make a very effective contribution towards the easing of our balance of payments crisis, both in the long run and the short run.

While I would have put much greater emphasis on the direct reduction of imports and government spending abroad, it is, of course, desirable to limit the growth of home demand. We do need an incomes policy to ensure that money incomes do not increase faster than output; to ensure that the total amount of money to be spent does not exceed what is available out of home production plus imports that we have earned by exporting. What I object to is the necessity for reducing home incomes more drastically than this as a means to effecting an indirect reduction in imports.

Whatever we do, of course, there is going to be a fall in our standard of living until we get round to increasing productivity. We have been living beyond our means, and we are bound to feel the pinch when we stop doing this. But the burden imposed by recent measures has been unnecessarily severe.

Long Term Measures

If we are to raise our standard of living, there must be an increase in productivity. As a country, of course, we enjoy a standard of living that is well above the average. We may not be as affluent as the United States but we enjoy nevertheless a standard of life that is vastly above that of millions in the underdeveloped countries. This, however, is no reason for not trying to raise productivity. Even in our own country there are still pockets of poverty. Not only do we need to make better provision for the sick, the unemployed and the retired and similar groups, we must also recognise the problem of real poverty among the families of low-paid workers. Recent investigations have shown that there are a significant number of men whose earnings from normal full-time employment are less than they would be entitled to receive if unemployed and drawing National Assistance. If we increase productivity, it will be all the easier to take steps to improve the condition of these people who are living below the poverty line. Furthermore, it will enable us to give increased aid to the underdeveloped countries of the world, where even the average worker may be worse off than those we regard here as poor.

One important factor in increasing productivity is investment. Our industries need to be equipped with the latest machines that will enable an increased output to be achieved with the same or even a smaller labour force. In addition, there must be the fullest and most efficient use of all equipment. This calls not only for good management but also for the abandonment of restrictive practices on both sides of industry. Even when productivity is increasing fairly rapidly, there may still be need for an incomes policy

to ensure that money incomes do not rise even faster. An increase in home output combined with policies to keep incomes in line with rising productivity may well reduce the tendency for imports to rise. Nevertheless, exports may still need to be boosted. If productivity is increasing, our costs should fall, if inflation can be checked, and this should help our exporters, but it is not enough. To increase exports may still call for greater sales effort abroad by our manufacturers.

Investment

New and more efficient machinery will help to increase productivity. We can, however, only use resources to produce this new machinery if they are not already being used for other purposes. In other words, we cannot have investment unless people refrain from consuming (i.e. they save) part of their incomes. To increase investment, we must, in the short run, have more saving and less consumption. There is one difficulty here, however. Businessmen invest in new machinery because they see the chance of earning profits by selling increased output, or by selling their present output at current prices but having reduced costs. If savings increase, however, resources are freed so that investment goods can be produced, but at the same time firms making consumer goods may find their sales falling and therefore feel disinclined to invest at this stage in new machinery.

It is one of the main objections to stop-go policies that they tend to include curbs on investment which, in the long run, is necessary to the improvement of our economic situation. If we must limit demand, we should cut consumption more drastically in order to be able to maintain investment; but we should nevertheless be careful not to curtail consumption unnecessarily (as we have been doing) for fear of destroying the incentive to investment.

Restrictive Practices

Investment alone will not increase productivity at the rate we want. There must also be good management, and

this has many aspects. It calls for understanding of all the technical sides of a business, and also for an understanding of the men and women working for the business. Without that understanding, management can hardly expect to get the best out of its workers. It may succeed in increasing output per head, but not nearly to the extent that would be possible if it were to secure the wholehearted co-operation of the workers.

There is an urgent need for the abandonment of restrictive practices on both sides of industry. We hear a great deal about the practices of the trade unions, but there are also restrictive practices on the other side of industry. Agreements among firms have often tended to protect the interests of the less efficient firms in an industry, organised groups of firms have often made conditions difficult for outside firms wishing to make innovations or reduce prices. There have been various measures since 1948 for the control of monopolies and restrictive practices in industry, but it is doubtful whether these have been fully effective; and there is probably a great deal that could still be achieved by a more vigorous policy.

Sometimes a case may be made for some of the restrictions operated by trade unions. Not all are wholly unreasonable. In our present economic circumstances, however, there can be no justification for practices which are designed to give employment to more men than are really necessary to do a job. When the nature of a job is changed, for example when mechanisation is introduced, it is ridiculous that unions should insist upon the same number of men being employed as before. The purpose of mechanisation is not merely to make the men's work easier, it is also to reduce the numbers required in order that those no longer necessary in this particular job should be released to make a more useful contribution elsewhere to the economic life of the community.

One can sympathise where older men who experienced the grim years of unemployment in the 'thirties seek to adopt practices that will ensure continued employment in the face of innovation, but nevertheless there must be

change and greater productivity. We have enjoyed virtually full employment throughout most of the post-war period. There have been some fluctuations because of stop-go policies, but at the worst, unemployment has been well below the level that would have been considered normal before the war. Even if present policies create unemployment that is in some sense unnecessary the probability is that at the peak it will be below the 8 per cent that was being considered as the average when full employment policies were being discussed towards the end of the war. What is more, if this state of affairs is to continue we must put our economy in order. Restrictive practices may, in the short run, protect a few men from having to change jobs and perhaps from a short period of unemployment: in the long run, such practices could undermine the health of our economy and bring us to economic disaster and a return to mass unemployment.

At the same time, we must recognise that hardships may occur when a man has to change jobs. For this reason, it is important that in order to facilitate the ready acceptance of change by the workers, there should be a substantial improvement in our existing social security arrangements. Unemployment benefit and redundancy compensation need to be improved a great deal so that we avoid the situation where changes which are for the benefit of the firm, of those who keep their jobs, and of the community as a whole are not achieved at the expense of those who are forced to change jobs; or else as a result of trade union pressures are not made at all.

The Role of an Incomes Policy

An incomes policy is needed to ensure that money incomes are not allowed to increase too rapidly. In such a policy, there is a need for a much greater emphasis than hitherto on the need to establish a more equitable and rational wage and salary structure. There have been critics who say that we should allow market forces to have free play, but in fact they never do. It is not the interaction of supply and demand in a genuinely free market that deter-

mine wages and salaries. All too often strong monopolistic elements on both sides are at work. Powerfully organised trade unions in industries dominated by firms in semi-monopolistic positions can obtain very high wages for their members while other workers making equally valuable contributions to the economic life of society are badly paid.

This situation needs to be remedied, even if it means rigid control of the wages of some of the more highly paid workers in order to permit above the average increases to the badly paid. Would such a policy be generally acceptable? On the whole, I think it would, in the right context. It would be essential that those who were forced to forego wage increases should see that this was in fact for the benefit of less well-paid fellow workers, and that their restraint did not simply increase profits. An equally tough policy with respect to profits is therefore essential. Finally, it is important that there should be effective control over earnings and not merely wage rates. There should be no chance for well paid groups to secure concealed increases under payment by results schemes where rates are loosely fixed. Nor should it be possible for workers operating restrictive practices to obtain big increases under the pretence of a productivity bargain. Where rates represent an adequate reward for the degree of skill and responsibility involved, unreasonable restrictions on output should be removed without a bribe.

Exports

To restore the balance of payments to equilibrium, increased productivity must lead to increased exports as well as increased consumption of home produced goods. This means that our manufacturers must make the effort to find overseas buyers. If possible, we must try to find ways of offering them an incentive to do just this. To get orders they must be prepared to go abroad in search of them, not sit back and wait for them to flow in. Businessmen must be prepared to travel, to prepare literature in the language of the country, to quote dimensions in metric terms, prices in the currencies of the countries concerned and so on.

Exporting is no longer a matter of accepting orders that happen to come our way. In a country that is largely self-sufficient, exports might well be treated as a sideline by firms. If a foreigner wants to buy, and places an order, that is all very well; it is a bit of extra business, but there is no need to go to any trouble to try and get such business. In our situation, where there is so much we must import, this will not do. Exports are vital, and we must realise that the world does not owe us a living. We must earn our living by producing for export the kind of goods other countries want, at the kind of price they are willing to pay. Our attitude to exports may be wrong, but of course there is much more wrong too. Can it be said of people at all levels in industry that they are not pulling their weight? It is easy enough to point to restrictive practices that must be abandoned, the need for acceptance of an incomes policy, and so on. In so far as people are wholeheartedly prepared to work for the improvement of the economic situation of the country, it is enough to show what needs to be done. In so far as the obstacles to prosperity are merely symptomatic of a deeper malaise, the problem is much greater.

Grammar with a Punch

“Nouns of number, or multitude, such as *Mob*, *Parliament*, *Rabble*, *House of Commons*, *Regiment*, *Court of King’s Bench*, *Den of Thieves*, and the like.”—William Cobbett.

Why do 'modern' priests shock their innocent flocks? Is co-education good at all stages of learning? Why do we hang on to Catholic schools when the example at home is so often bad? Is leucotomy justifiable if it results in a loss of religion?

Any Questions?

WILLIAM LAWSON, S.J.

Why do "modern" priests try to shock unoffending members of the flock?

A SHOCK is an unexpected and violent disturbance of a settled state. It is sometimes employed to bring a sufferer out of a state judged to be dangerous—slapping for someone in a drug-induced coma, or electric-shock treatment. It can be used more mildly to startle an audience out of lethargy.

Why and how do these priests use it? A phrase from a recent magazine article comes to mind: "vicious with-it clergy". It refers to clerics who correspond to the notice-seeking youngsters who make disturbances to draw attention to themselves. Their principle is non-conformity for its own sake, to stand out from the herd and, with luck, be interviewed for television. Such clergy abandon tradition in doctrine, dress and deportment, making a name for themselves and shocking the conformists in their communion. There are some priests who propound the newest theological experiments apparently with the double purpose of showing how modern they are and of disquieting those who are comfortable in the older statement of doctrine. Such conduct seems to be second-hand, brash and unkind.

But could not the shock be, in a sense, self-induced? Those who allow themselves to become torpid are likely to be shaken by reasonable activity near them. There are comfortable clergy and laity who are shocked by enthusiasm

for the liturgy or participation of Christians in society. Shocks are suffered—but are they inflicted?—at any departure from the usual: changes in religious dress, priests in berets or with no hat of any kind, sermons in everyday language. There is much to be said for uniformity and conformity. On official occasions it can be fairly demanded. But would it not be a loss to communication, participation and personality if all occasions had to be official and if stereotypes took the place of human beings?

I hope I haven't shocked you!

Is it good to have co-education at all levels?

CERTAINLY not. Co-education during adolescence would encourage what ought to be strongly discouraged—the idea that boys and girls should pair off from the cradle onwards, and that the human being is incomplete without an exclusive "boy-friend" or "girl-friend". The sexes are complementary, and each needs the other; but complementariness works in different ways at different ages, and it is only in the approach to marriage and in marriage itself that a certain exclusiveness is sound and wholesome.

The cultivation of a pair-relationship in adolescence has the effect of accelerating a partial maturity and of checking normal growth. It is bad for both partners in several ways: for the boy because he is dragged out of his natural callowness at an unnatural rate; for the girl because she doesn't take time to find out what manhood really is; and for both because they cannot learn from one another the great blessing of complementariness, which is the companionship of self-reliant equals. It is a great pity that so many Christian parents and teachers have not the courage to stand out against a dangerous and corrupting fashion. They are afraid of not being "with it", or seeming "square", and they are afraid of their children.

Given ordinary human instincts, together with the generally accepted fashion of boy-friends, girl-friends, from kindergarten onwards, it is asking for trouble to educate adolescents together. In universities and other institutes of higher education co-education is right; but even there

pairing-off should not imperil the perfection of future companionship. Both parties should eventually bring their best to a sharing of life; and one essential of a personal best is the proper use of talent. It is irresponsible of students to qualify below their potential because they have spent time as boy-friend-girl-friend which they owed to their studies.

What is the use of hanging on to Catholic schools when so many homes undo the devoted work of Catholic teachers ?

THE destructive effect of bad example is undeniable, and so is the good that is done by good schools and good homes in co-operation. The question is whether Catholic schools do such a good job in maintaining and spreading the faith that they are worth their cost in man-power and money. Those in favour of abandoning our denominational schools recommend a system like that in Switzerland where all children go to State schools, and get religious teaching, if they want it, by attendance at catechism classes after school and on Sundays. Catholic children are required by circumstances to proclaim themselves as Catholic in the ordinary exchanges of school life and by going to extra lessons. Catholic teachers work in state schools and, without proselytising, they can do a Christian work of greater range than is possible in a confessional school. Parents, also, have a clear obligation to do teaching at home, directly and by example. A general call is made on Catholics for responsibility, and those who answer it are stalwart and dependable.

In comparison, children in Catholic schools have less opportunity of declaring their allegiance, and there is danger of their religion never emerging from the anonymity of school routine. That passivity is said to be the main reason for the lapsing of school leavers.

But it is not impossible to keep the many advantages of Catholic education — which is *not* just the teaching of religion—and to impart the self-reliance and responsibility which are claimed for e.g. the Swiss system. A school

with a bad lapsing rate—and schools ought to know roughly what their rate is—should examine their consciences and the way they teach religion, and also the way they form or fail to form Christian personalities.

If a leucotomy is to be performed with a view to correcting gross personality defects, and there is danger of impairing centres of the brain connected with religious beliefs, is the operation morally good ?

| N general, that kind of operation is not morally wrong.

It is a mutilation, but for the sake of the organism which is being mutilated. Justification of any particular operation of the kind would be by measuring gain against loss—better lose a leg than a life.

That general principle has to be reconsidered when the effects of the interference are psychological as well as material; personality is much more of the spirit than the body, and therefore is more sacred. Moreover it is reachable through the spirit as well as through the body. In the universal process of character-building, the main agent is the spirit itself which can undergo changes of quality but not of quantity and is safe from physical mutilation.

But personality can be reached through the body, because the brain is the instrument of the mind and its condition affects the spirit's performance. The proof of that is the very operation which is being considered. If the defects of personality are so gross that the person is in severe distress, it seems reasonable to take out of action those brain centres without which the spirit cannot express itself in wild aberrations.

Those centres being the instruments for consciousness of religious commitment, the person will lose the practice of religion, its guidance and comfort. That grave loss to personal well-being must be part of the reckoning of the person's needs; but it need not prohibit the operation. Belief is the acceptance by a self-possessed spirit of the person of Christ. The spirit keeps its allegiance though leucotomy may have destroyed its instrument.

How dangerous is anthropomorphism in religious teaching today ?

SOME anthropomorphism—making God in our own image—is unavoidable. Our thoughts and words are human and can't be anything else. The danger is clear to anyone who thinks, and we are warned against it in the Bible and guarded against it by philosophers like Thomas Aquinas. Even the ordinary non-specialist Christian makes an effort to think effectively of God as spirit and infinite. Anthropomorphism exists today in the Catholic Church, but its appearance is not crude but subtle.

It shows itself in a general Catholic satisfaction at having all the answers. That is good when it means an acceptance of the Church's teaching as certain and unchangeable: but if it means complacency in having the final answer to every question it is wrong. How can we ever say the last word about God or God's revelation ? St. Paul tells us to go on searching in the inexhaustible treasures of God's truth, and we should, in prayer and study, follow his advice. The Church's teaching is a series of steps and not a final platform. The steps are never to be spurned: they are essential truth. But we are to stand firmly on them and rise from them, not lie on them and go to sleep.

There is another kind of anthropomorphism — making *ourselves* in our own image, and not in the image of Christ. We have a view of human life as entitled to peace and plenty from beginning to end, and we are indignant if we have to endure disappointments, pain and anxiety. But that is not human life as portrayed in the Scriptures. We need to be chastened and refined, to know the grossness of evil and to grow in the desire for the good and in love of God. The way to that perfection must be painful. "Ought not Christ to suffer and so to enter into his glory ? "

Does spirituality need to be fed on knowledge of material as well as spiritual things ?

DO we need clarification of terms before we start discussing them ? "Spirituality" in a Catholic context means "supernaturality": it is the Christian quality of the

soul. "The spiritual life" is the life of grace and the practice of the supernatural virtues. "Spiritual reading" is reading for the fostering of the spiritual life.

That explanation is needed because in other contexts spiritual has nothing to do with religion: it means "of the spirit", and every human being has a spirit and is spiritual.

The confusion is illustrated by the use of "material" and "spiritual" in the question. I take it that "spiritual things" are the Scriptures, Christian revelation, and commentaries on them by the teaching Church, the Fathers, scholastics and authorities on asceticism. "Material" then has to mean "secular", and amongst material things we would include metaphysics, sociology, history, psychology—and any other ology you like to name. We *do* need more precise terms!

Wouldn't you say that any knowledge can help to an understanding of our relationship to God? Astronomy for example—"the heavens show forth the glory of God". To find one's way in the literature of the "spiritual life", some secular knowledge is essential, and much more is worth acquiring. To confine learning to religious subjects would be to study them badly. They are not isolated in fact from other branches of learning. Church history ought to be the history of the people of God, who live in the world. Ecclesiastical literature derives from cultures which were mixed and not purely religious. We have come to see, during the Council, that the Church has a tendency to be self-regarding and ingrowing. Concentration on "the spiritual" at the expense of "the material" is the wrong sort of withdrawal from the world — and it is bad spirituality.

Gently

"The eyes of the dead are closed gently; we also have to open gently the eyes of the living."—Jean Cocteau.

Book Review

A WORLD TO WIN

Dedication and Leadership by Douglas Hyde; Sands & Co.; 15s. **Defeating Communist Insurgency** by Sir Robert Thompson; Chatto & Windus; 21s. **Sarkhan** by William J. Lederer and Eugene Burdick; Putnam, 21s.

STRATEGY is a dirty word in the Church. Yet, its use is essential if battles are to be won. Our reluctance to make use of it may account for the fact that we are losing so many.

This is the general impression I am left with after a reading of the three books under review, particularly that by Douglas Hyde. I reviewed it some time ago when it was published in booklet form by the Mission Secretariat in Washington, D.C. So highly did I think of its contents that I sought permission to serialise it in *Christian Order*. This was granted most generously. Now, *Dedication and Leadership* has appeared in an English edition. I can only implore priests and laymen everywhere to read it. This applies particularly to priests working in developing countries. They will benefit also from a careful reading of *Sarkhan* by the authors of that brilliant book, *The Ugly American*, long since published as a paper-back and a "must" for every missionary. In their most recent publication, William Lederer and Eugene Burdick show in the form of a novel what happens in a developing country when strategy goes wrong at national level. Less entertainingly, perhaps, but with even greater insight and clarity, Sir Robert Thompson explains in a book published by the Institute of Strategic Studies how communist insurgency can be contained and then defeated. Sir Robert is probably better equipped than anyone else for this kind of writing. After the last war, in which he served with distinction, he returned to the Malayan Civil Service where his time was taken up entirely with the Emergency which ran from 1848—1960.

As Deputy Secretary and then Secretary for Defence from 1957—1961 he was largely responsible for the final defeat of the communist attempt to take over Malaya and Singapore. From 1961—1965 he headed the small British Advisory Mission to South Vietnam where a similar attempt was and is being made and resisted by the people of that country and their American Allies. Everything the Author has to say about these two situations makes invaluable reading. The lessons he draws are worth the closest possible study. They apply throughout the developing world. We neglect them at our peril.

The books of Douglas Hyde and Sir Robert Thompson complement each other most usefully. Sir Robert writes after the event, so to say. Reference in his page is to the period when insurgency is already active in developing countries. He is concerned with containing and then defeating it after it has arisen. Douglas Hyde probes deeper in some ways. His concern is with the basic causes that give communist insurgency birth. We can agree, of course, that Communism can be thrust from outside across national boundaries onto the peaceful inhabitants of remote developing areas. We can agree again that terror is a weapon often used to thrust submission on them. What we cannot agree with, however, is that terror alone can do the job. There must be consent from some within the area itself if terror, even, is to prove ultimately successful. Communism does not work *in vacuo*. Its picked cadres go in first; to persuade, cajole, terrorise, prepare the ground for the larger thrust. As a rule they find soil fertile enough to bear the seed of discontent. What Hyde would ask is, *Why?* That is the sixty-four million dollar question.

Hyde would argue, I think, that in almost every case, the empire of communist success is the measure of Christian deficiency before God and man. Thompson, I think, would agree with him. Granted that, in a good many cases, the techniques of both have to be used simultaneously against insurgency; that defensive measures in the form of clear-and-hold operations have to accompany social reform, as, for example, in North-East Thailand at

the moment, it still remains true that mere defence by itself—without administrative justice and without social reform — is incapable of containing, still less defeating communist insurgency. Sir Robert Thompson is too wise a man not to make the point over and over again in the pages of his book.. He would be the first to agree that Hyde's suggestions are essential to the final and complete defeat of Communism in the developing world. Sir Robert, I imagine, would go further. Were Hyde's suggestions to be adopted in time, the strategy Sir Robert Thompson outlines so brilliantly would be rendered useless because unnecessary throughout the developing countries of the world. Sir Robert is in business largely because Christians have failed.

Why have they done so ? It would be wrong to confine our answer to the fact that they have lacked the appropriate strategy, though this omission is glaring enough and continues to be so. One must go deeper and inquire why the strategy has been lacking. The reason is that Christians have lacked an appropriate policy. The right goal has not been there. Until very recently the missionary effort of Christianity has concentrated quite simply on increasing the number of Christians. No one but a fool would deny the importance of that operation or discount for a moment the magnificent courage that went into it. One can thank God for both, whilst querying the wisdom of those who were and still are content to leave it at that, seeking to draw as many as possible into the shelter of a Church, conceived primarily as a closed society apart from the world, the preservation intact of whose organised fabric they see as the other essential task of missionary endeavour. Get in as many as you can; then hold what you have. This was their policy.

Little thought was ever given to the task of building a Christian community in missionary lands: what one had instead everywhere were large and docile collections of the baptised. There was and still is in the missionary countries little concept of the Church as meant to influence society, of the task of the Christian as that of permeating his surroundings with principle, making Christ incarnate in his

workaday life. The policy was to preserve, not influence. The Christian life, in consequence, became a somewhat shrunken thing. It was confined to formal observance. There is little to excite one in that. Who would wear himself out to bring others to the knowledge of a Faith which appears to mean no more than church once a week and fish on Friday, along with the promise of ultimate salvation? One does with that kind of a Belief what one does with an insurance policy; one treats it as a personal affair and keeps it to oneself. If, today, the laity are apathetic, it is because most understand no more than this about their Faith. Until they understand more—until the Faith *means* everything to them—they will lack the courage to put it into practice. This should surprise no one; it is entirely reasonable. Courage comes when one understands.

At this point, it is enlightening to recall, as Hyde does in his pages, the concluding words that Engels put to his book on *Ludwig Feuerbach* and Marx to his *Communist Manifesto*. "The philosophers have only tried to explain the world", wrote Engels, "the job, however, is to change it." "You", wrote Marx, "have a world to win." Communist strategy has followed this expansionist policy. The result has been a third of the world in communist hands in fifty years. Christians, by contrast, have had no strategy because they have no expansionist policy in the Marxist sense of the term. Their young men and women have not been given a world to win; instead they have had hung round their necks a seeming mill-stone of formal observance. Christians in the developing countries have been left squatting in their foxholes when, long since, they should have been called to the offensive. But the call never came. By this I mean that there never was placed before them a goal worthy of their best and, therefore, of an all-out offensive in terms of dedicated leadership to bring that best to others. Had the offensive been there, the strategy would have come to support it. Without a goal, there can be no offensive; without an offensive it is pointless to talk about strategy. Hyde's book is about strategy; about the means a dynamic Christianity must choose if it is to be

true to its task of making Christ incarnate in the world; of influencing that world in such a way that the values He enshrined so perfectly in Himself are to be planted in men's hearts and everywhere upheld. All this, however, presupposes a realisation on the part of Christians — especially the young amongst them—that they indeed have a world to win. The tragedy of our times is that they are still without it.

It is sad to read in Hyde's pages of the lofty idealism placed before young communist recruits, as compared with the somewhat pedestrian round of religious duties held out as a rule to Catholic converts as the maximum expected of them. Winning a world, as Hyde makes so clear in his book, is not only a matter of strategy, but of ideals. I am sure Hyde is right when, over and over again in his pages, he stresses the need for idealism. It appeals to the young. Communists now are drawing many of their recruits from the age-group of fifteen to nineteen. Many of these are staying with the Party, to work themselves out in its service. They are doing so because, right from the start, the Party is placing a great goal before them, telling them they have a world to win, teaching them to reach for the stars. It does so with a thrust that is rarely misplaced. Communists continue to be faithful unto death. Let Hyde tell in his own words the story of the briefing given by the North-Vietnamese Communist General Giap to the peasant boys who made up his army attacking the French in their great fortress of Dien Bien-Phu:

"I remember some years ago talking to a man from Indo-China who had fought with the Communists at the great siege of Dien Bien-Phu. I met him at Hong Kong. He was a Catholic from North Vietnam who had been conscripted into Ho Chi Minh's army.

"Our Western Press had been full of the glory of the French army which had put up such tremendous resistance, at what was to prove to be its last ditch stand against the Communist-led assault. The French held on to the fortress for weeks on end, enduring all the immense suffering that a protracted siege entails.

"We did not, however, hear much about the men and the experiences on the other side. How about the people who were fighting against the French? Besieging a fortress is a difficult and bloody business too. I asked my Catholic from North Vietnam: 'What sort of briefing did they give you before they sent you into action?'

"The briefing they were given was this: 'You will almost certainly die. Already, even to get within gun range, you have to clamber and slither over men's rotten bodies, the bodies of your own comrades. The probability is that you will die, just as they have done. If you do, you will not just be dying in the fight against French colonialism. You will not just be dying for Vietnam. You will be dying for suffering, oppressed humanity all over the world. Your death will help to make the world a better place.'

Now that was the briefing which atheist leaders gave to their followers before they went into action. They were not afraid to call upon them to die and they did not hesitate to base this upon an appeal to the idealism which is deep in the heart of every man. They demonstrated, as communists have so often done, that this is a powerful thing. And their followers went into action, wave upon wave, ready to die so that others might live. They were sent into battle morally prepared for the fight".

Only men who know they have a world to win can be talked to like that. Perhaps readers will understand now why this kind of language is rarely on Catholic lips. Until it is, the fight will go against us. This, perhaps, is an exaggeration. What I mean is that there will be no fight.

Paul Crâne, S.J.

Equality of the Law

"The law, in its majestic equality, forbids the rich as well as the poor to sleep under bridges, to bed in the streets, and to steal bread."—Anatole France.

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If you are without an awful lot of money, as I am, you've to turn to other means, of which the chief is reliance your readers. This is particularly the case with readers *Christian Order*, who seem, somehow, so close to its itor and give him such constant support.

Readers of *Christian Order* are asked very earnestly to ist the drive we are beginning now to raise the circulation the magazine by doing two things: in the first place,iewing their own subscriptions as they fall due; secondly, asking a friend for a subscription and sending it on, h his name and address, to the Rev. Paul Crane, S.J., Belgrave Road, London, S.W.1., England.

Thank you.

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